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II.—*On the History of the Burmah Race.* By LIEUT-COLONEL  
A. P. PHAYRE, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

[Read Jan. 9th, 1866.]

THE Chronicles of the Kings of Burma, called *Maha Radza Weng*, are preserved with great care. Some years ago, the present writer was presented by the king of Burma with a complete copy of this national work. His Majesty is himself a man of learning, and the edition from which the information now presented is derived, appears to have been compiled under his direction with careful research. Supposed errors of former editions are pointed out, and original authorities are in such cases quoted. All that part of the history, which refers to cosmogony, and the dynasties of kings in India, is derived from Pali books, and has no more real connection with Burmese history than the Hebrew annals have with British history. The object of the present paper is to make an epitome of the Burmese narrative, presenting only an outline of the main facts, yet omitting nothing which is necessary to be known to understand the history of the Burmese race as written by themselves.

The *Maha Radza Weng* commences with describing the self-development of the world, and the appearance of man therein. The system of cosmogony has, together with the Buddhist philosophy and religion, been derived from India, and the Burmese kings profess to trace their descent from the Buddhist kings of Kappilawot of the Sakya tribe, to which race Gautama Budha belonged. The history contains the Buddhist account of the first formation of human society ; the election of a king, and the grant to him of a share of the produce of the soil. These legends constitute to this day the foundation of the authority, temporal and spiritual, of the Burmese kings. The foundation of that authority they continually refer to, and it is ever present to the minds of their subjects. It is proper therefore briefly to record that portion of their national history.

The history opens with announcing that, after a cycle of the great revolutions of the universe, wherein worlds are destroyed by fire, by water, and by air, had elapsed, the present earth emerged from a deluge. A delicious substance, like the ambrosia of the gods, was left by the subsiding water spread over the earth. The throne of Gautama first appeared above the water. At the same time, the beings called Brahma, who live in the upper world or heavenly regions, had accomplished their destinies. They then changed their state, and became beings with corporeal frames,

but without sex.\* Their bodies shone with their own light, and full of joy they soared like birds in the expanse of heaven. From eating of the ambrosia, the light of the bodies of these beings gradually declined, and, because of the darkness, they became sore afraid. Because of the glory of those beings, and because also of the eternally established order of nature, the sun, of gold within and glass without, fifty yoodzanas† in diameter, and one hundred and fifty in circumference, appeared above the great Eastern island (of the solar system), and threw forth his light. The inhabitants of the world were then relieved from fear and called the sun (in Pali) Thoo-ree-ya.

In like manner the first appearance of the moon and stars is described; the central mount Myenmo (Meru), and the whole sekya or solar system. The history then proceeds:—

“Of the world’s first inhabitants, some were handsome, some not handsome. As the handsome ones despised the others, in consequence of the haughty evil thoughts thus engendered, the ambrosia of the earth disappeared, and they ate of the crust of the earth. Then, in process of time, selfishness and desire increasing, the earth’s surface crust disappeared. They then ate of a sweet creeping plant; when that disappeared, the Thalay rice came up, which, as they gathered, it was renewed morning and evening. Placing it in a stone jar, flames issued and it was prepared for food. Its flavour was whatever the eater desired. From eating of this food, human passions were developed, and the beings became men and women. Then, as evil deeds began to prevail, the wise censured and severely treated the others. The latter, wishing to hide their evil deeds, built houses. Then, the lazy among them having stored up the food, the Thalay rice acquired husk, with a coating of coarse and fine bran, and where it once had appeared, it did not sprout again. They then said, ‘It is good for us to divide among us the Thalay rice plants, to possess each his own.’ Then they distributed the Thalay rice plants. After that, an unprincipled one among them, fearing that his own share would not suffice, stole the share of another. Once and twice he was warned; in the third offence he was beaten. From that time theft, falsehood, and punishment existed.”

The world’s first inhabitants then assembled and thus consulted together: “Now wicked times have come; therefore let us select an upright religious man, one having the name and authority of a ruler, to reprove those who deserve reproof, and

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\* It is from these beings that the people called by Europeans Burmas, Burmans, or Burmese, take their name. In the Burmese language, the name is written *Mran-mā* or *Mram-ma*, and is generally pronounced by themselves *Ba-mā*. See note at the end.

† A modern *yoodzana* equals about thirteen English miles.

to expel those who deserve to be expelled, and let us give him a tenth share of our Thalay rice." This was agreed to, and an excellent man, full of glory and authority, the embryo of our Gautama Phra, being entreated to save them, was elected king, and was called Maha-tha-ma-dá. In verse it is sung that he was of pure nature, of exalted authority, and of the race of the sun.

"Like a second sun, he dispelled darkness or ignorance; his good qualities shone as the light, and from his power and authority, and from being the first of kings in acts of great diligence, he is called Manoo.\* After this, men of wisdom, who desired to destroy wickedness, lived in huts in the forest, and ate only what they received in charity; they were called Brahmans. Others tilled the ground and traded; they were called wealthy men and merchants. The rest, being poor persons in humble employments, were called Soodras, or poor people. Such were the four classes of men."†

This history represents king Maha-tha-ma-dá as reigning for an *athen-khye*, being a period represented by a unit and one hundred and forty cyphers. He had twenty-eight successors who reigned in the countries of Malla and Kotha-wattee. The next dynasty, which numbered fifty-six kings, reigned in Ayooz-za-poorá. The next, of sixty kings, reigned in Bara-na-thee, or Benares. Then eighty-four thousand kings reigned in Kap-pi-la, the native country of Gautama, in distant after times. Next, thirty-six kings reigned in Hat-li-poorá. Numerous other dynasties are mentioned, which are represented as established in various countries of India, and as lasting for many millions of years.

The first king after Maha-tha-ma-dá whose history is brought in as directly connected with subsequent events, is Auk-ká-kareet, king of Bara-na-thee, or Benares. It is related that this king had five queens. The eldest, named Hat-ta, had four sons and five daughters. Having given birth to these children, Hat-ta died. The king then married a young princess, who gave birth to a son, named Dzandoo. The king highly pleased, promised to confer any favour on the young queen which she might ask. Prompted by her own kindred, she asked that her son might be declared heir to the throne. After much entreaty, the king consented, and, calling his sons and daughters, gave them a retinue of followers, with elephants and horses, and they went forth to establish a country, and search for a place to build a city.

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\* The word appears to mean generally lawgiver or king. The word is Indian, not Burman.

† Among the four classes, it will be observed that the ruling power is placed first, according to the Buddhist system. The Brahmans appear as literati and ascetics.

At this time, the embryo of Gautama Phra, a wealthy Kap-pi-la Brahman, having abandoned his house, had become a hermit in a teak forest\* in the Himalaya jungles or mountains. In the *Radza-Weng-gyee*, it is called an En-gyeen forest. There the hermit had built his lodge. The princes came to the place in search of a site for a city. The hermit foresaw that a city built there would, in after time, be of great fame in Dzam-bu-dee-pa, the world of man, and advised them to build their city there and to call it Kap-pi-la-wot.† Then the princes consulted together, saying, "There are with us no king's daughters of our own race, nor are there any king's sons for our sisters; if marriages are made with other races, the children become impure; in order to preserve our race, let us put aside our eldest sister as a mother,‡ and we four marry our four younger sisters." It was done so. From that time the race became known as the Tha-kya-tha-kee race of Kap-pi-la-wot.

Regarding the origin of the Kau-le-yá princes, the elder of these four brothers, named Auk-ka-mok-kha, and the others, had put aside their elder sister Pee-yá as a mother. She was afflicted with leprosy, or a similar disease, and they determined to place her apart in a secluded spot. They had her conveyed to a cave with a dwelling covered by branches of trees, and she was left there. At that time, in Bara-na-thee, there reigned Ráma, the son of Brah-ma-dat. He being afflicted with leprosy, gave over his kingdom to his eldest son, and went into the forest in search of herbs to cure himself. He established himself in a hollow tree, and, before long, was by the use of herbs restored to health. Not far from this was the place where the princess Pee-yá was shut up. One day the princess, being alarmed by a tiger, cried aloud, and king Ráma heard her. He came to the place, made himself known, and they were married. The princess bore thirty-two sons, who were instructed by their father in all the accomplishments fit for princes. When the king of Bara-na-thee heard what had happened, he offered to resign the kingdom to his father Ráma. But Ráma refused, saying, "Here, leaving my Kalan tree, I have built a city," and from that, the city came to be called Kau-la-na-ga-rá, and thence Kau-le-ya. When the sons of king Ráma and queen Pee-yá had grown up, their mother

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\* The national chronicler discusses whether the forest in question consisted of sal or of teak trees. He finally decides in favour of the teak as the more dignified tree of the two, but appears to have come to a wrong conclusion.

† This appears to signify "the Kap-pi-la Brahman's place of religious duty."

‡ In Burma to this day the king's eldest daughter is not given in marriage, but remains unmarried, at least during the life of her parents.

said thus to them : “The princes of the Tha-kee race of Kap-pi-la-wot are your uncles ; their daughters are fond of dress and perfumes ; when they come to bathe in the river Rau-ha-nee,\* you go the river bank, and, seeing your comeliness, they will love you.” Their mother having said thus, the sons went to the river bank, and when the Tha-kee princesses were drying their hair after bathing, they listened to the words of the princes and followed them. When the Tha-kee princes heard this, as the race of the young men was not different, they acquiesced. Thus, commencing with king Ráma and queen Pee-yá, the Kau-le-ya tribe originated.

The Dewá-da-há kings began thus. The Tha-kee princes of Kap-pi-la-wot had a small lake where they built a pleasure-house. When the country increased, the place was called Dewá-da-há. The prince who lived there was called the Tha-kee prince of Dewá-da-há. So the three kings of Dewá-da-há, Kap-pi-la-wot, and Kau-le-ya, with numerous elephants, horses, and soldiers, carried white umbrellas, and attained to the dignity of kings of a great country.

From Auk-ka-moo-kha, king of Kap-pi-la-wot, descended, after many thousand years, king Dza-ya-the-na. His son was Thee-ha-ha-noo, and the latter's son was Thoo-dau-da-na. The sister of Thee-ha-ha-noo was Ya-thau-dha-ra. The son and daughter of Auk-ka-ka, the king of Dewá-da-há, were married to the daughter and son of king Dza-ya-the-na, of Kap-pi-la-wot. The children of the Dewá-da-ha chief were Inzana the son and Kinzana the daughter. Thee-ha-ha-noo the son of Dza-ya-the-na married Zinzana, and they had five sons, named, Thoo-dau-da-na, Dau-tau-da-na, Thek-kau-da-na, Thook-kau-da-na, and A-mee-tau-da-na ; and two daughters, Ameer-tá and Pa-lee-tá. Dza-ya-the-na's daughter, Ya-thau-da-ya, married Inzana, the son of the king of De-wá-da-ha, and had two sons, Dan-da-banee and Thob-ba-bood-dha ; and two daughters, Thi-ri-ma-há-má-ya and Pa-za-pa-tee-gaw-da-mee. The elder daughter gave birth to the Phrá Loung,† prince Theiddatta ; the younger daughter gave birth to Dza-na-pa-da-ka-lya-nee, called also Roo-pa-nan-da and Nanda. Ameeta, the daughter of Thee-há-

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\* This appears to be the Rohini, one of the feeders of the Rapti.

† Phrá loung, *i.e.* the embryo Phrá, a term for Gautama Budha. The word *Phrá*, now adopted into the Burmese language, is, according to Professor Wilson, a corruption of the Sanscrit *Prabhu*, Lord or Master. This appears to be the most probable origin of the word. It certainly is not a pure Burmese word. The orthography of it in ancient stone inscriptions at Pagan is Bu-rhá and Pú-rhá. The Burmese have used the original much as European nations have the Pali word *Da-go-ba*. The modern word is written *Phu-rá*.

ha-noo, married Thob-ba-bood-dha, the son of In-za-na, and had a daughter Bad-da-kin-za-ná, and a son De-wa-dat.\* The prince or Phra Loung Theid-dat-ta-kooma-ra, the son of king Thood-dau-da-na, married Bad-dha-kin-za-ná, called also Ya-thou-dha-ra, the daughter of Thob-ba-bood-dha, king of De-wá-da-há. They had one son, Ya-hoo-la.

The maternal grandfather of the Phra, named king In-za-na, corrected the Calendar in the year 8645, and in 67 (of the new era) the Phra Loung entered the womb of Thi-ri-ma-há-má-ya, and, when ten months were completed, he was born in the year 68, on the full of the moon, Ka-tshon. At sixteen years of age, he married Ya-thau-dha-ra, the daughter of Thob-ba-bood-dha, and for thirteen years enjoyed the life of a prince in the palace. At twenty-nine years old he went forth from the palace, and having attained Brodhahood, and preached the law during fifty-one years, he, in the year 148,† at the age of eighty, passed to Neib-ban, or in common language, died. He died in the country of Koo-thi-na-yoon, where the Malla tribe ruled. In the month Wagoung of the same year, the first Thenggá-ya-ná, or great council, was called by A-dzá-ta-that, the king of Radzagyo, and it was then agreed that that year should be counted as the year one of religion.‡

As the kings of Burma claim to be descended from the Tha-kya race of Kap-pi-la-wot to which Gautama belonged, the inter-marriages of the chiefs of that tribe are thus carefully detailed in the history.

Having brought down the narrative of events to the death of Budha Gautama, the first volume of the work proceeds to give an account of the geography of the world of Dzam-boo-dee-pa, where the Buddhist kings reigned. In this mythological geography, Dzam-boo-dee-pa refers to the earth generally, but that term is constantly confused by being sometimes applied to the continent of India only, the other parts of the world being considered as too insignificant, whether in extent or civilisation, to be mentioned. Dzam-boo-dee-pa, therefore, frequently represents India prominently, and the world remotely.

The great earth, or substratum of rock on which Dzam-boo-dee-pa rests, is represented as being 82,000 yoozanas in depth. On this rock rests Dzam-boo-de-pa, or the island of the Dzam-boo or Eugenia tree. It is broad at the north side, and to the south

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\* This De-wa-dat was the great opponent of Budha Gautama. They were first cousins by birth, and Gautama had married De-wa-dat's sister.

† This refers to the era established by king In-za-na.

‡ According to the Burmese Calendar, the year 2406 of religion commenced on the 13th of April, 1862, when the year 1224 of the common era commenced.

narrows like the forepart of a cart. This represents roughly the form of the continent of India, which shows that the ancient books followed by the history, frequently by the term Dzam-boo-dee-pa, referred to India only. From north to south it is ten thousand yoozanas long, and the same from east to west.

In the great ocean outside and which surrounds it, are five hundred small surrounding islands. Ceylon is a prominent island to the westward. At the northern extremity of Dzam-boo-dee-pa, grows the *Eugenia* tree with golden fruit, the size of globular waterpots.

In the Himalaya, it is stated, there are seven great lakes. From one, named Anau-tat-ta, proceed four great aqueducts. By one of these, a river issues through the elephant mouth into the western sea; by another, a river falls through the horse-mouth to the northern sea; one through the lion-mouth to the eastern sea; and one through the cow-mouth into the southern sea.

All the countries of India as mentioned in the *Maha Raza Weng*, are enumerated below, but there appears to be some confusion, resulting apparently from some states having, in the course of time, subdued others, and from the historian not knowing that some small states appear sometimes as members of a confederacy, in an extensive country occasionally called by one general name; and at other times are lost in the establishment of a monarchy.

The region of Meets-tree-ma-detha or the central land, is bounded to the east by Ga-dzeng-ga-la-ne-gon village; to the south-east by Thal-la-wa-tee river; to the south by Thé-ta-kau-nee-ka-nee-gon village; to the west by the Brahman village Dho-na; to the north by Oothi-rid-da-dza hill. In the centre is the great Bau-di tree. Around are the sixteen great countries, which are as follows:—

- |               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1. En-ga      | 9. Koo-roo         |
| 2. Ma-ga-dá   | 10. Pin-tsa-la     |
| 3. Ka-thee    | 11. Mits-tsa       |
| 4. Kaw-tha-lá | 12. Thoo-ra-the-na |
| 5. Wits-tsee  | 13. A-tha-ka       |
| 6. Mál-lá     | 14. A-wan-tee      |
| 7. Tsé-ti-ra  | 15. Gan-dá-ra      |
| 8. Wan-tha    | 16. Kam-bau-dza    |

There are also twenty-one great countries:—

- |               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Koo-roo    | 9. Wits-tsee    |
| 2. Thek-ka    | 10. Gan-dá-ra   |
| 3. Kau-tha-la | 11. Tse-ti-ra   |
| 4. Ma-ga-da   | 12. Weng-ga     |
| 5. Thee-wee   | 13. Wee-dé-ha   |
| 6. Ka-lin-ga  | 14. Kam-bau-dza |
| 7. A-wan-tee  | 15. Mad-da      |
| 8. Pin-tsa-la | 16. Beg-ga      |



17. Eng-ga
18. Thee-ha-la
19. Kath-mi-ra

20. Ka-thee
21. Ban-da-wa

The great kingdoms are twenty :—

1. Ba-ra-na-thee
2. Tha-wat-tee
3. We-tha-li
4. Mi-hti-la
5. Aa-la-wi
6. Kau-tham-bee
7. Oodz-dzé-nee
8. Tek-ka-shyo-la
9. Tsam-ba
10. Tha-ga-la

11. Than-thoo-ma-ra-gi-ri
12. Ra-dza-gyo
13. Kap-pi-la-wot
14. Tha-ké-ta
15. In-da-pa-ta-na-go
16. Ook-ka-ta
17. Pa-ta-li-poot
18. Dze-loot-ta-ra
19. Theng-kath-tha-na-go
20. Koo-thee-na-yon

Such were the countries in the time of Gautama.

The countries reigned over by all the great kings, commencing from Maha-tha-ma-dá, and numbering three hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and sixty-nine kings, were :—

1. Ko-tha-wa-tee
2. Ra-dza-gyo
3. Mi-hti-la
4. Bá-ra-na-thee
5. Kappi-la
6. Hat-ti-poo-ra
7. E-ka-tsek-khoo
8. Wa-tsee-ra-wot-tee
9. Ma-dhoo-ra
10. Aree-ta-poo-ra
11. In-da-pa-ta-na-go

12. Kau-thamb-bee
13. Kan-na-gantz-tsha
14. Raw-tsa-na
15. Tsam-ba
16. Tek-ka-so
17. Ko-thi-na-yon
18. Ma-lit-ti-ya
19. Kap-pi-la-wot
20. Kau-li-ya
21. De-wa-da-há

The first volume of the history then concludes with maxims for kings and people which need not be entered here.

The second volume opens with the following words :—

“In the first part we have narrated the history of the kings, commencing from Mahá Thama-dá up to the time of the excellent Phra Gautama, there being three hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and sixty-nine kings in lineal succession. In this second portion we shall relate the history of thirty kings commencing from Peim-ba-tha-ra up to King Dham-ma-thau-ka.”

Of these princes it will not be necessary to relate more than what is essential in order to understand the history of Burmah. The history first refers to the country of Ra-dza-gyo, and then follows the stream of Buddhist religion and authority, until it widens into the broad channel of sovereignty under Dham-ma-thau-ka, whose seat of empire was at Pa-ti-li-poot.

Thoodhau-dha-na, King of the Thek-ka state, in the country of Kap-pi-la-wot, had a great friendship for Bha-gee-nee-ya, King of Ra-dza-gyo in Magadha. The Prince Theid-dhat-ta had also a great friendship for the Prince of Ra-dza-gyo, Beem-ba-thá-ya. The latter died eight years before Guatama attained *neibban*,

and his son A-dzá-ta-that succeeded. A-dzá-ta-that reigned thirty-two years, until the year 24 of religion, (B.C. 519,) when he was succeeded by his son Oo-da-ya-bad-da.

A-dza-ta-that formed a friendship with that base man De-wa-dat, and, having murdered his father, was condemned to hell; but, after a long term of suffering, he was to be permitted to be born as a Pits-tsi-ka-Budha. He was succeeded by his son Oo-da-ya-bad-da, who reigned until the year 40 of religion, when his son A-noo-rood-da conspired and reigned in his stead.

In the year 72 of religion, his descendant Na-ga-da-tha was set aside by the people as one of a parricide race, and a nobleman named Thoo-thoo-na-ga succeeded him. His history is as follows. In the country of We-tha-li,\* the Leitz-tsha-wee princes assembled and consulted thus: "Our country has all the elements of greatness, yet is quiet when exertion is called for. Why are other countries constantly stirred up?" They decided that the country was quiet because there were no courtezans; they therefore caused the daughter of a wealthy man, one of their own race, to be so appointed. One of the Leitz-tsha-wee princes took her to his own house. She gave birth to a son. The child was put into a jar and thrown outside the city. The jar was found by some of the citizens, opened, and the child was taken and brought up by a noble. He was named Thoo-thoo-na-ga, because the city Naga had uttered a sound like *thoo-thoo*, which led to the discovery of the jar.

At a time when King A-dza-ta-that meditated an attack against We-tha-li, he sent the Brahman Wa-tha-ka-ya to Gautama, who replied that the We-tha-li princes observed the law, and were destined to long greatness. The king said to the Brahman, "What shall we do?" The Brahman replied, "Make show of banishing me from the country; I will first go and destroy the unanimity of the We-tha-li princes, and you can then march and conquer the country." In three years the plan was accomplished, and, by this means, the child Thoo-thoo-na-ga, who had become a noble, was brought to Ra-dza-gyo, and eventually became king.

King Thoo-thoo-na-ga lived in We-tha-li. After a reign of eighteen years, he died in the year of religion 90.

He was succeeded by his son Ka-la-thau-ka. In his reign, in the year of religion 100, the second great Council was held in We-tha-li, under Shen-ya-tha-tay, with 700 Rahandas; he died in the year of religion 118. On his death, his son Bad-da-thé-na, with nine younger brothers, reigned for twenty-two years. In

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\* We-tha-li appears to have been one of the states of the Leitz-tsha-wee princes.

the year 140, the last of these ten brothers, named Pin-za-ma-ka, was king. He was killed by one Kho-mhoo-nan-da, who became king, with the name of Oog-ga-the-na. His history was as follows: On the border of the country of We-tha-li, there lived a robber chief, who, at the head of a large band, plundered the country. Once, in plundering a party of merchants, a porter belonging to them joined the robbers. He in time became the captain of the band, and was called Kho-thoo-nan-da. Gradually he acquired power, and at length usurped the throne, putting to death the king, Pin-za-ma-ka.

Oog-ga-thé-na did not live long. His eight younger brothers succeeded him. The last of them was Da-na-nan-da-meng. He was murdered by Dza-nek-ka the Brahman, and Prince Tsan-da-got-ta of the Mau-re-ya line was placed on the throne. He was king of all Dzam-bu-dee-pa.

The history of Mau-re-ya is thus: "In the time of the Phra, some of the Tha-kee princes went and built a city in the Himalaya forests. It was called Mau-re-ya, from peacocks being numerous there, or from the city being in the shape of a peacock's neck. Dza-nek-ka, the Brahman, was an inhabitant of the country of Tek-ka-tho. His father died early, and he was brought up under the care of his mother. He, when young, was noted for his learning and accomplishments. It was predicted that he would become a king, but at the request of his mother, he broke his canine teeth and vowed never to become a king. He came to the country of Pa-ti-li-poot, in the reign of Da-nan-da. He became acquainted with the king's son, Pap-pa-ta, and persuaded him to leave the city and live in the forest. He endeavoured to find a person to substitute for prince Pap-pa-ta as successor to the throne, and he found Tsan-da-got-ta. His history is thus related. Once the country of Mau-re-ya was attacked and subdued. The queen, being pregnant, fled to the country of Pa-ti-li-poot, and there gave birth to a son. The child was put in an earthen vessel and placed near a cow enclosure. The cowherd found him, and brought him up with his own children. A friend of the cowherd, a hunter, loved the child and asked for him. The child then was made over to the hunter. He displayed great power and ability, and the Brahman Dza-nek-ka, hearing thereof, gained possession of him from the hunter. The Brahman brought him up until he was full grown. He was named Tsan-da-got-ta. By an artifice Tsan-da-got-ta was induced to murder prince Pap-pa-ta. Tsan-da-got-ta, then under the influence of Dza-nek-ka, gradually collected forces, attacked villages, and at last expelled king Da-na-nan-da from Pa-ti-li-poot.

Tsan-da-got-ta then was consecrated king. He had a son born

to him who was named Bein-du-tha-ya. Tsan-da-got-ta died after a reign of twenty-four years, in the year of religion 186 = B.C. 357.

His son, Bein-doo-tha-ya, married a princess of the Mau-re-ya race, who gave birth to Dham-ma-thau-ka. This prince appears to have murdered all his father's sons by other mothers than his own. Bein-doo-tha-ya either died naturally or was murdered in 214 of religion.

Dham-ma-thau-ka attended to the internal affairs of the country for four years before he was crowned, and in the year 218\* of religion he received the *abeit theit*. His brother Tei-tha he appointed Crown Prince. Four years after being consecrated as king, he sincerely entered religion. The history of Dham-ma-thau-ka, as the great supporter of Buddhism, the founder and encourager of missions, is narrated at considerable length. He discovered and opened the under-ground building in which the relics of Gautama had been deposited by A-dza-ta-that; he took them out, and distributed them. In the year 234† of religion, he assembled the third general council, presided over by Mang-ga-lee-poot-ta-tee-tha-tay, and consisting of one thousand selected Rahans. He then turned his attention to the great object of establishing religion all over the world, or in all countries contiguous to India. For the present history, it is only necessary to notice two out of the nine missionaries then sent forth. They are Yau-na-ka-dham-ma-rek-khee-ta to A-pa-ran-ta, or Burma, according to this history; and Oot-ta-rá and Thau-na to Thoo-wan-na Bhoom-mee or the Talaing country. In both those countries the missions were successful, and multitudes of men and women became Rahans. King Dham-ma-thau-ka died in the year 255 of religion.

The second volume of the history ends with the death of this king.

The third volume of the *Maha Radza Weng* commences with the direct history of the Burmese kings in the following words: "We shall now relate the first commencement of the long line of the Mran-má kings in the great country of Tagoung; the origin of all the kings who have reigned in the land; and also treat of the first foundation and the progress of divine religion in the Mran-má country, under the Mran-má kings."

The country which in the time of our lord Gautama is called Tagoung, was originally established by Abhi Radza. His history

\* B.C. 325. On this subject, see Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes", p. 74. He applies a correction of sixty-six years to this Buddhistical date, and gives good reason for doing so.

† B.C. 309. This is not the date of the third general council, as given in Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes", p. 116, and to which the correction must be applied.

is as follows :—Before the appearance of the lord Gautama, the King of Kau-tha-la and Pin-za-la-reet, wishing to ally himself with the King of Kau-lee-ya, sent a noble to demand one of the daughters of that sovereign. The Kau-lee-ya king, from pride of race, did not send a satisfactory answer. A war then arose, and the King of Pin-za-la-reet was victorious, The three Tha-kee Kings of Kau-lee-ya, De-wa-da-ha, and Kap-pi-la-wot, being conquered, their countries were destroyed. Afterwards they were once more restored to prosperity. At the time when the Tha-kee kings were thus depressed, Abhi Radza the King of Tha-kya Tha-kee race in Kap-pi-la-wot, in consequence of the disturbed state of Mitz-tzi-ma-de-tha, took with him his army, and went and established the country called Then-ga-tha-ra-ta, or Tagoung.\* Abhi Radza, at his death, left two sons, the elder named Kan Radza gyee, and the younger Kan Radza ngay. They quarrelled regarding their succession to the throne. By the advice of the wise men of the nation, they agreed to abide by the result of a rivalry in good works, and not of war. It was arranged that each was to commence at nightfall to erect an *alhoo mandât*, or religious building, and the prince who first finished his building was to succeed to the place of the father. Each selected a hill on which to erect a building. The elder brother commenced his building with heavy timbers and bamboos; the younger brother commenced with light timbers, and covered it with white cloth and plaster, so it was finished in one night. In the morning when the elder brother saw that he had lost, he collected his followers and went down the Irrawaddy river. He then ascended the Tha-la-watee, or Khyen-dween river, and established himself at Ka-lé dounge.† At that time the tribes called Pyoo kam yan and Thek asked for a king, and the Prince made his son Mood-doo-tseit-ta king over the Pyoo tribe. “Kan Radza gyee went westward, and established himself on the mountain called Kyouk pan tounge,‡ east of the river Gits-tsha-bá. He then became king of the country.”

Kan Radza ngay reigned in Tagoung, the country of his father. He had thirty-one descendants, who reigned successively in Tagoung. In the time of Bhein-na-ká, the last king of that race, Chinese and Tartars from Gan-da-la-reet province, in the country of Tsein, invaded the kingdom. The king was obliged to retire

\* Tagoung is an ancient city, now in ruins, situated on the Irrawaddy river, in about 23° 30' north latitude.

† This lies west of the Khyeng-dwen, in about 23° north latitude.

‡ This is a mountain in the northern part of Arakan. The story here related is found also in the history of Arakan. Vide *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xiii, p. 34.

with his army to the Ma-lé khyoung,\* where he died. From thence his force was divided into three parts; one went eastward and established the nineteen Shan states; another division went down the Irrawaddy river, and remained in the country of the Pyoo-kan-ran and Thek tribes, where the Tha-kee Prince Moodoo-Tseit-ta had formerly established himself in Thoo-na-paran-ta. A portion remained in Ma-lé, with the chief Queen Na-ga-tshein.

At this time Gautama appeared in Mitz-tsee-ma-detha. The King of Tha-wat-tee, Pa-the-na-dee, Kau-tha-la, demanded a daughter in marriage from Mahá-ná-ma,† King of Kap-pi-la-wot. The king did not give him a pure daughter, but one born from a slave girl, and named Wa-tha-bha-Khat-ti-ya. She gave birth to a son named Wee-ta-thoo-pa. When he had grown up, he went to see his relations in Kap-pi-la-wot. As they insulted him on account of his inferior birth, he determined on revenge. After his father's death he thrice led his armies against Kap-pi-la-wot, but was restrained by the expostulations of the lord Gautama. A fourth time Gautama, seeing inevitable punishment due to the demerit of the Sakee Princes, forbade him not. The Tha-kee race of Kap-pi-la-wot, of which Mahá-ná-ma was then king, was either destroyed, or dispersed among the neighbouring states of Maure-ya and We-dee-tha-gi-ra-kza. Thus was that great country of Kap-pi-la-wot twice destroyed; once in the time of King Kau-le-ya, and once in the time of King Mahá-na-má.

At the time of this last destruction, one of the Tha-kee princes named Daza Radza left Mits-tshee-ma-de-tha with many followers, and first established himself at Mau-re-ya,‡ called also Mauringa, and now Mwé-yeng. From thence he removed and established himself in the country of Theng-dwai. From thence he removed to Malé, where he met the Queen Na-ga-tshein, and, as they were of the same Tha-kee-ya race, they were married. They then built the city of upper Pugân. There a son named Wee-ra-ga was born to them. They once more removed to the ancient capital of the Tha-kee race of kings called Ta-goung, or Theng-ga-tha-ra-ta, and called it Pin-tsa-la-reet, and hence the country is also called Pin-tsa-ta-goung. This king established regular government. By his two chief queens, he had twenty sons and twenty daughters, and the sons married their half sisters.

\* Malé is on the Irrawaddy river, about eighty miles above Amerapoora.

† It is presumed that after the death of Thoo-dau-daná, the father of Budha Gautama, Mahá-ná-ma, one of the same family, succeeded to the throne.

‡ By this name is meant the country west of the Khyeng-dweng river, now called the Kubo valley.

To this king there succeeded seventeen kings in regular succession, but their reigns were very short. The last of them was named Tha-do-má-há-radza. The king had no son. The chief queen, Kein na-ree De-wee, had a brother named La-bá-doo-há, and he was appointed Ein-Shé-men, or Crown prince.

At that time, in the country of the Pyoo tribe, the race of kings descended from Moo-doo-tseit-ta, the son of Kan Radza-gyee, as above related, was represented by Tap-boo-la. He was disturbed by attacks from Dhi-nya-wa-tee, or Arakan, and went with his people to the Tha-gya lake.

"As then we have related the first dawning of the Burmese country of Ta-goung, before the lord Gautama appeared, now we shall proceed to narrate the history of Tha-re-khet-ta-ya."\*

"In the fifth year after the lord Gautama attained to the state of Budha, two brothers, named Maha-poon and Tsoo-la-poon, asking leave from the Phra, built a monastery called Tsan-da-koo-nan-tha, at the village of Say-gaing in the country of Thoo-na-pa-ran-ta.† The Phra also prophesied (that) 'hereafter in the Mramá country my religion will be long established,' and accompanied by five hundred Rahandas he frequently came through the air before the monastery was finished; when the monastery was finished, he received it in gift, and remained there seven days, and preached. At that time five hundred men and five hundred women in Thoo-na-pa-ran-ta became Rahandas. At that place was a hermit named Theet-tsa-ban-da, who had attained the state of an Areeya. At his intercession, the Phra left the impression of one foot on the Theet-tsa-pan hill, and, at the intercession of the Na-man-da Na-ga, he left the impression of the other on the bank of the Mán stream. Thus two firmly founded pagodas were fixed in the rock, as if sealed down, and the Lord said:—'Hereafter my religion shall be long established in the countries of Thoo-na-pa-ran-ta and Tampa-dena.‡ From thence the Phra went and arrived at the Pho-ooo hill.§ To the south-east was the sea. On

\* This is the name of the ancient city to the east of Prome. It appears to refer to the Khatri or Rajpoot caste.

† This is on the Mán river, which runs into the Irrawaddy from the westward, near the town of Menboo.

‡ Tampa-dena is one of the ancient names for Ceylon. According to the practice of the Buddhist nations of Indo-Chinese to transfer to their own countries the name of Buddhist lands in the west, this name was given to Pugân and the surrounding country. The name was probably given after the books were brought from them, and a reformation made in religion. Pugân was more anciently called A-rimad-da-na. This history, however, intimates that Tampa-dee-pa was the more ancient name. Thoo-na-pa-ran-ta is mentioned as a country in the Buddhist Scriptures. See Hardy's "Buddhism", p. 259.

§ This is the name of a peak on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, near to

the water was the appearance of something floating and just appearing above the surface. A little *pwé*, or bamboo rat, lifted up its nose and did homage to the omniscient Phra. The Phra smiled at these two omens, and, in reply to his younger brother, who asked for explanation, said, 'Beloved Anan-da, in the year 101, after I shall have entered into the rest of *pa-ree-neib-ban*, five great omens shall be manifested here. They are, first, a violent earthquake shall shake the whole land; second, where the Bho-o peak now rises there shall be a lake; third, the Tsa-moon-than-my-eit river shall be formed; fourth, the earth shall rise and form Poop-pa-toung,\* fifth, in the country to become Tha-re-khet-te-ya, the sea shall be dried up. In the time when those omens shall be manifested and fulfilled, that little *pwé*, removed from his existing body, and become a man, shall be king over a great country under the name of Dwot-ta-boung. In that king's reign, in the Mran-má country, my divine religion shall flourish and shall exist throughout long ages.'"

According to that divine prediction, the Phra went to Naree-neib-ban, and in the year 40 of religion, in the reign of Tha-do-ma-ha Radza, king of Pin-tsa-ta-goung before mentioned, a mighty boar twelve cubits high ravaged the country. The crown prince La-ba-doo-ha went forth armed to destroy him. The boar fled to the Shan country, and the prince followed. The glen where he entered the mountains east of the Irrawaddy is called Wet-weng (boar entrance) to this day. The prince chased him down the west bank of the Irrawaddy, though how the boar arrived there is not stated, and he crossed again to the east bank. As from his great height his belly was not wet by the water, the place he reached is still called Wet-ma-tswot† (boar not wet). The boar then continued his flight down the east bank of the river until he came to an island near to Tha-re-khet-ta-ya. There the prince overtook him. The place is called Wet-hto-kuyen to this day.

The prince now reflected that he was far from the country of Ta-goung, and that his story of having killed the boar would not be believed; and wearied with the world, he determined to become a hermit in the place where he was. There were then no inhabitants near at hand, except wild animals. In the jungle a doe produced a young one in the form of a human female child.

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Prome. Great changes no doubt have occurred in the course of the Irrawaddy river, probably within the historical period, about Prome. The rocks around Prome contain large deposits of marine shells, so that the Burmese had evidence of the sea having once reached there.

\* The name of an extinct volcano about two hundred miles north from Prome.

† This is a place below the petroleum wells in the Irrawaddy river.



The doe, startled by the cry of the infant, fled, and the hermit coming to the spot was astonished at the sight. The hermit carried the child to his cell, and brought her up as his own daughter. When she was grown up, he gave her the name of Bhe-da-ree. "Such is the story of the first establishment of the city of Tharé-khet-ta-ya by the hermit who was the brother-in-law of the king of Ta-goung."

In the very year when the crown prince La-ba-doo-há went forth to slay the boar, the queen of Ta-goung gave birth to twin sons. They were both born blind, and named Mahá-Tham-ba-wá and Tsoo-la-tham-ba-wá. The king, from shame, ordered them to be killed; but the queen, loving the children of her own bosom, concealed them until they were nineteen years of age. The king then having discovered that they were alive, again ordered them to be killed; but the queen had them put into a boat, with many days' provisions, and set them afloat on the Irrawaddy river. As they floated down the river, the boat struck against the branch of a *tseet* tree. At that spot, in after times, was built the city of Tseet Kaing. As they proceeded down, they met with a Bee-loo-ma, who gave them some medicine to restore their eye-sight. The cure was effected, and looking up and seeing the sky for the first time, they said, "The sky is as a cover; the earth is underneath," and hence the place that they were passing was called Myé-daí. At length they reached the place at Prome\* where their uncle the hermit dwelt. There they beheld the hermit's daughter, Bhe-da-ree, drawing water from the stream with a gourd. As the water would not flow readily into the gourd, they opened it. Bhe-da-ree then filled it, and returned to her father's cell. She told him the cause of her quick return, and the young princes being called, they told their story, and the hermit learned then that they were the sons of his sister, the queen Kein-naree-de-wee. After this the elder brother, prince Mahá-Tham-ba-wá, was married to the hermit's daughter Bhe-da-ree. This was in year 60 of religion, according to the *Maha Radza Weng*; or, by the Burmese reckoning of the period of Gautama's death, 483 years before Christ. From this time commences the history of the monarchy established at Thare-khet-ta-ya, and no further notice is taken of Tagoung and the upper country of the Irrawaddy until some centuries later.

*Note on the Etymology of the word Myan-ma or Mran-má.*—In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, No. I, of 1853, is an interesting paper by Mr. B. H. Hodgson, on the languages of the Indo-Chinese borderers, compared with the Thibetan and Himá-

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\* See "Journal of the Asiatic Society", vol. xxv, p. 173, for an account of the pagoda built upon that spot.

layan tongues. In that paper, Mr. Hodgson appears to conclude that the term Burma or Burmese, which is the Europeanised form of the name by which that people call themselves, can be traced to the native name for man. This, however, is open to some doubt; but Mr. Hodgson's general conclusion that the languages of the Himálayan, Indo-Chinese, and Thibetan tribes, are of one family, is fully justified.

The name by which the people known to Europeans as Burmans or Burmese call themselves, is written by them Mran-ma, and sometimes Mram-ma, and is pronounced Ba-má. The Arakanese call themselves Ma-ra-má, which is a variation of the same word. The questions involved are:—

I. Does the word Mran-ma contain the root signifying man in some of the Indo-Chinese dialects?

II. Is the word Mran-ma directly derived from the name for man generally, and on that account used as the national designation of the Burma?

III. Can any other origin for the term Mran-ma be found, from which it is more likely to be derived?

It is shown by Mr. Hodgson, that in many of the above languages *ma* and *mi* mean *I*, and *man* (pp. 5, 34, 36 and 63), and hence it is concluded that the etymology of *Burma* or Burmese is recovered. The word Burma or Burmese no doubt is the European form of Ba-má. Is the written form *Mran-ma* the original, of which the spoken form *Ba-má* is a mere colloquialism? or is the latter the real original expression of the name for the race? The Arakanese, it may be noted, do not use the form *Ba-má*, and therefore are never called by Europeans Burmans or Burmese.

The root *mi* in the Burmese language has now no known reference to the pronoun *I*, or to *man*, as a general term, whatever it may formerly have had. It now means female; with the prefix *a*, it means mother, and sometimes a daughter. As an affix to the word *tha* or *sa*, *child*, it signifies a female child. The root *ma* has the same general meaning, *female*; but has a more dignified signification than *mi*. It is also applied to female animals. The word for woman, *Mien-ma*, or *Mi-ma*, is probably the union of the two forms of the root representing female, and is applied to women as the female *par excellence* (see p. 66 of Mr. Hodgson's paper). The personal pronoun *Nga*=*I*, is both masculine and feminine. But though I cannot agree that the root *mi* or *ma* appears in the word *Mran-má*, that root may possibly appear in the Burmese word *myo*, *mro*, or in its Arakanese form *mru*=*race*, and *seed*; possibly also this word may originally have signified *man*, in the Burmese, as now in the Mrú language (see p. 34). Mr. J. R. Logan, in the *Journal of the Ind. Arch.* for 1857, vol. ii, observes, "The root of Mran-má is *ran*, one of the

forms of a widely-spread Himalaic name for man. Karen has the same root, with the guttural in place of the lateral prefix." I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the grounds on which this observation is founded.

The question still remains, whence the word *Mran-má*, which is pronounced *Ba-má*, and in the Arakanese form *Ma-ra-má*, is derived?

I believed it to be a modern appellation adopted by the people since they became Budhist, and derived from the Pali word *Brahma*, signifying celestial beings, as shown in the text. Hence it really has only an accidental similarity to the word for man in some of the Indo-Chinese dialects. It is as much as if the *Angli* had adopted the national name *Angeli* with their Christianity, with this difference, that we know for certain that the *Angli* originally so called themselves, but we do not know for certain what the Burmese called themselves before they adopted the name *Mran-má*. The pride of the people caused them to assume this as their national designation. The only names for the ancient tribes which may have become the *Mran-ma* nation, which we are acquainted with, are *Pyoo*, *Kan-yan* or *Kan-ran*, and *Thek* or *Sak*.

Is it possible that in adopting the word *Brahma* as their national name they kept in view also their native root *ma*, as Mr. Hodgson would appear to conclude? This I will not venture to affirm; but of the direct origin of the present national name I have no doubt. Nor need it cause surprise that a people should have adopted a foreign term to designate themselves. With their religious instructors they received knowledge of every kind. The districts of their country were named after the countries of their teachers. Even their great river, known in the vernacular as *Myit-gyi*, received an equivalent term in Pali—*E-ra-wa-ti*; and their capital city always has a Pali name. From the history it is evident that the name *Mran-má* was not adopted until after several tribes had been united under one powerful chief, by whose fiat the name would readily have been adopted.

With reference, however, to the root *mi* and its appearance in the word *Mien-na* or *Mim-ma* (woman), it is curious that the Chinese of Yunan call the Burmese *Mien* or *lounge-mien*, and that is the name given to them by Marco Polo. I cannot say how the Chinese got the word, but it is possible that *Mien* was the original name for the race, and contains the root meaning man. However that may be, the word in this or any similar sense is now entirely lost among the Burmese, excepting as above noted in the term for women, and it may be in *Mru* (race). It does not appear as the name of any of the tribes with which the Burmese might be supposed to be immediately connected.

*Observations.*—Having traced thus far the legends of the Burmese race from the earliest period, down to the time when a new dynasty was established near Prome, about three hundred miles lower down the Irrawaddy than the ancient capital Tagoung, it will be convenient to pause, and inquire how far we can discern any true historical basis in the legends and tales which have been narrated

The physiognomy and the language of the Burmese people, as well as those of the adjoining tribes, proclaim them all to belong to the same family of nations as the tribes of Thibet and the Eastern Himalaya. Whence did they come? and how did they arrive at their present country? The theory of Prichard in his *Natural History of Man* on this subject is probable, is supported by existing facts, and accords with the physical geography of the regions north of the countries now occupied by the Indo-Chinese races. That author thus refers to those peoples. "The vast region of Asia forming the south-eastern corner of that Continent, which reaches in the sea-border from the common mouth of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, to the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River of China, and even further northward towards the mouth of the Amur or Selinga, is inhabited by races of people who resemble each other so strongly in moral and physical peculiarities, and in the general character of their languages, as to give rise to a suspicion that they all belong to one stock. With the rivers which descend from the high country of Central Asia, and pour their diverging waters on all sides, after traversing extensive regions of lower elevation, into the remote ocean, these nations appear also to have come down, at various periods, from the south-eastern border of the Great Plateau; in different parts of which, tribes are still recognised who resemble them in feature and language."

To the great central region of high Asia, Prichard traces what he terms the five nomadic races, namely the Ugrian, the Turkish, the Mongolian, the Tungusian, and, on the south-east, the Bhotiya, "the mountain people who on the northern boundary of Hindustan have appropriated the name of Tartars, though they have no right to that celebrated appellation, which belonged originally to the Mongolian tribe who inhabited the bank of the lake Bougir." And again, "If we were at liberty to hazard a conjecture as to the origin of their nation, it would be, that all the people who inhabit the low countries of south-eastern Asia, from the mouth of the Amur, or at least from that of the Hoang-ho, southward and westward as far as the Brahmaputra, are offsets from one of the great nomadic races of high Asia, namely from the Bhotiya, who occupy the southern margin of the great central upland." This conjecture is in a great measure confirmed by the researches of Mr. B. H. Hodgson, who, in the paper already quoted, observes

that "One type of language prevails from the Kali to the Kuladan, and from Ladakh to Malacca, so as to bring the Himalyans, the Indo-Chinese, and Thibetans into one family."

It is reasonable to conclude that tribes leaving the south-eastern margin of the great plateau of central Asia, early in the existence of the human race, would naturally follow the downward course of streams and rivers. Among the earlier emigrants from that part of Asia towards the south, as far as we can now discover, were the ancestors of the present Mon or Talaing people, the aborigines, so to speak, of Pegu. It is also probable that the Karens left their ancient dwelling-place at an early period. They have remained for the most part down to the present time uninfluenced by Buddhism, and with their language unwritten, until about the year 1830 A.D. Their traditions of their own origin, or at least of the route by which they arrived at their present seats, are therefore more trustworthy than those of the Burmese, or of the Talaings, are regarding themselves. Many of these traditions are preserved in a small volume written by the Rev. Dr. Mason, Missionary to the Karen people. It is entitled "Traditions of the Elders." While the traditions or legends of the Burmese, influenced by the source whence they derived their religion, and by the ambition of their kings to trace descent from the Buddhist sovereigns of their holy land, refer to India as the cradle of the royal race, and almost seem to derive the great body of the people from the same country, the more trustworthy traditions of the Karens point to central Asia as their ancient home.

Their traditions say, "We anciently came from beyond the river of running sand, and having marked out Zimmay (two hundred and fifty miles north-east of Maulmain) for ourselves, returned. Afterwards when we came to dwell there, we found the Shans occupying the country. Then the Karens cursed them, saying, 'Dwell ye in the dividing of countries.'"

The countries in which Europeans first came in contact with Karens have only lately been occupied by them, but the mountain country between the Salween and Sitang rivers, has probably been theirs for many ages.

Dr. Mason points out that Fa-Hian, the Chinese pilgrim to India of the fourth century, also speaks of crossing the "river of sand" or great desert between China and Thibet. Further it is stated, "Their traditions point unequivocally to an ancient connection with China; for Tie, or Tien, is spoken of as a god inferior to Jehovah,\* and offering to the manes of their ancestors is as common among the Karens as it is among the Chinese." It is evident that "the river of sand" of the Karens must be the great sandy desert

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\* Or Yu-wa, the name given by the Karens to God.

of Mongolia, stretching for many hundreds of miles along either side of the 40° of North latitude. The story of coming to Zimmay under a chief to inspect the country and then returning, must be accepted as the modern version of the fact, that about Zimmay they were stopped in their progress south along the water-shed range, between the Salween and Menam rivers, by the previous occupation of the Shan race. The Karens are mentioned by Marco Polo, and appear then to have occupied the country east of Bamo on the upper Irrawaddy.

Some of the religious traditions of the Karens are remarkable. They are distinguished from all the Indo-Chinese tribes with which I am acquainted, by the knowledge they have of the existence of one eternal God. He is not worshipped, because, as they appear to suppose, he is angry with them. It is impossible to conjecture with probability how they acquired this knowledge. They believe also that they once possessed books. Notwithstanding what has been said by some writers as to the "Caucasian countenances," the long faces, and "straight noses" of the Karens, I must uphold that their national physiognomy is essentially Indo-Chinese, and their speech connects them with the same family. In every Indo-Chinese tribe, occasional exceptions to the general flat physiognomy are met with. These are almost always among the men. The women have more frequently the true type of Mongolian or Bhotiya face.

Such tribes as the Burmese, the Karens, and the Mon, would readily find their way from central Asia by the courses of the rivers Salween and Mee-nam towards the south. Some would be led westerly, and so gain the valley of the Irrawaddy in the upper course of that river. This the Talaings and Burmese probably did at an early period,\* while the Karens kept for ages to the

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\* Mr. J. R. Logan remarks upon this subject as follows :—"The present position of the Mon-Anam nations might lead us to suppose that they moved into Ultra-India, and thence into India. But the relation of the Mon-Anam to the Vindyan dialects shows, that the Dravirian traits of the former were wholly or chiefly acquired in Bengal, and renders it probable that they did not reach the south by the basin of the Irrawaddy, but by that of the Tsang-po Brahmaputra, like the later Tibeto-Burman tribes. How far Ultra-India was then inhabited, and what languages were there spoken, cannot therefore be ascertained from the character of the Mon-Anam languages." Again : "The Simang and Anda-manni are the present remnants of a pre-Himalaic colony, and it is probable that similar Dravirio-Australian tribes occupied it, so far as it was inhabited, before the Mon-Anam race entered the region." (*Journal Indian Arch.*, pp. 156, 157.) Among the traditions of the Mran-má race in Arakan, are traces of the existence of a hateful race of men, which existed on the sea coast, when the Mran-mas entered the country. They are called in the vernacular *Bee-loo*, which implies a monster or cannibal in human shape. It is from these beings that the country received its Pali name of *Rek-khaik*, and hence its

mountains bordering east and west of the Salween and Mee-nam rivers, and only lately came into the Irrawaddy valley and along the mountains bordering the sea-coast as far as the 12° north latitude. They may be classed in three great divisions, having numerous tribes and dialects, but all possessing the same characteristics as far as they have been observed, up to the 20th degree of north latitude.

It has already been mentioned that the people called by Europeans Burman, or Burmese, called themselves Mran-ma, a name which is generally pronounced by them Ba-má. This word, as has also been stated, is of foreign origin. From the history we learn that at an early period there were three tribes in the valley of the Irrawaddy, who appear to have been the progenitors of the present nation. These tribes are called Byoo or Pyoo, Kam-yan or Kan-ran, and Thek or, by the Arakanese, Sak.\* They probably were three allied tribes, more closely connected with each other than were others of the same original stock, settled in the upper Irrawaddy valley, or on the adjoining mountains. I see no reason for doubting that they had found their way to the valley of the Irrawaddy by what is now the track of the Chinese caravans from Yunan, which track debouches at Bamo on the river. There they probably remained for many ages without being disturbed by any superior tribe. The history of the Burmese being written under the direct influence of the kings, it is not surprising that every effort should therein be made to show, that the royal race is descended from the kings of those people who brought to the Burmese letters, science, and religion; whereby the savage Indo-Chinese tribes of the Irrawaddy were civilised and made into a nation. Accordingly we find that the foundation of the state of Kap-pi-la-wot by a tribe of Rajpoots is carefully described, and as it appears to be admitted to be a historical fact that Kap-pi-la-wot was attacked, and the people dispersed, even during the life of Gautama, a previous emigration from thence to Burmah under Abhi Radza is invented for the national history. This name Abhi is native not Pali, signifying an ancestor in the fourth generation, and the names of his two sons, both called Kan, with the Pali word for king and the native terms elder and younger added, appear to refer to them as acknowledged chiefs of the Kan-ran tribe. Under the two sons of Abhi Radza, a separation of the

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present name Ra-khaing. Rek-khaik appears to have the same general signification as the vernacular Bee-loo. The Pali name being given to the country, would seem to show that some Bee-loos were still there when the Buddhist missionaries entered Arakan. The word Bee-loo appears to answer generally in popular meaning to the English ogre. There are no traces of the Mon people ever having passed through Arakan.

\* Sák is still the name of a small hill-tribe in Arakan. It is similar in sound to the name of the tribe Gautama belonged to.

tribes or of the people under their sway takes place ; the elder branch going westward and settling in the country now called Arakan ; the younger remaining in the valley of the Irrawaddy. In this legend there appears to be a germ of truth. The Arakanese also have the national name of Mran-ma. The country they inhabit received the Buddhist name of Rek-khaik from the monsters believed to inhabit that wild unknown coast, and hence the modern native name Ra-khaing and the European Arakan. But this name has no connection with the race of the people. The Arakanese, being of the same stock as the Burmese, and still acknowledged to be the elder branch of the family, undoubtedly entered their present country from the eastward, that is from the upper valley of the Irrawaddy, as their own traditions attest ; and it appears not improbable that this movement may have been made by the mountain passes which Kan Radza-gyee described as having traversed to go westward. But, according to the history, this event occurred thirty-one generations of kings before the time of Gautama. That race, at the end of the thirty-first king's reign, died out in Tagoung, or rather was driven out by an invasion of northern hordes. A female descendant of the kings was preserved, and, when the Sakya race of Kap-pi-la-wot was destroyed in the time of Gautama, or about the middle of the sixth century B.C., one of the princes of that tribe named Dazá Radza is again described as coming from Kap-pi-la-wot to the Irrawaddy, to continue the ancient race in that region. That wild Indo-Chinese tribes should find their way from the bleak north, down to warmer and more fertile climates of the south, is credible ; and that, after reaching the Irrawaddy, they should proceed westward across the mountains, and so reach the sea, is not improbable, as the more direct route down the Irrawaddy was already occupied by the Mon. That such indeed was their course, is borne out by existing facts. But if we consider the present state of the countries lying between Bengal and Burmah, from Cachar eastward to the valley of the Irrawaddy, and consider also the difficulties for travelling over that route which must have been presented twenty-five centuries ago, the supposed emigration, either for conquest or colonisation, by the comparatively civilised tribes of India, to the barbarous wilds lying east of Tipperah and Cachar, will appear very improbable. On the other hand it is highly probable that religious zeal would carry missionaries wherever a route for trade existed, however wild and dangerous that route might have been. It appears probable that a trade did exist from early times through eastern Bengal viâ the upper Irrawaddy to China.\* Traffic is frequently carried on by

\* The part of China bordering on Burma is called Tsein by the Burmese. Was the Indian name Cheen derived from this source ?



very difficult routes, and by paths which people well advanced in civilisation, in a fertile and extensive country, would not follow in search of a land to colonise. Merchants will venture into such countries, as is exemplified in the way the wild tribes east and north-east of Arakan are now supplied with salt and other necessities of life. Where traders go for love of gain, missionaries will go from religious zeal. From these considerations then, while the passage of Buddhist Missionaries to Burma by the difficult paths in question might be accepted, the supposed immigration of any of the royal races of Gangetic India to the Irrawaddy by the same route, in the sixth century B.C., or even later, will appear very improbable. Those tribes appear to have regarded Gangetic India as the favoured land of the earth, and would scarcely have emigrated to the savage country east of Bengal. There is indeed no good reason for supposing that any missionaries went to any part of the country now called Burma before the year 234 of religion,\* when sent in the reign of Dham-ma Asoka, as related in this history. But is the record of Yau-na-ka-dhamma-rek-khee-ta being deputed by the third great council as missionary to Burma true? It appears not. The Buddhist writings preserved in Ceylon inform us that Oot-ta-ra and Thau-na were deputed as missionaries to Thoo-wan-na-bhoomee. By that name no doubt is meant the country inhabited by the Mon or Talaing race, and their chief city then was on the site of the present Tha-tung, lying between the mouths of the Salween and Sittang rivers. No doubt the missionaries reached it by sea. That gold was anciently found in that vicinity is testified from the Burmese name of Shwe-gyeen, literally "gold washing," now borne by a town on the Sittang, and gold is still found there, though probably in diminished quantity to what it was anciently. This, no doubt, was the origin of the name "Aurea regio" of Ptolemy. This history assumes that the Pali name A-pa-ranta means Burma. There is not the slightest reason for this conclusion. The word means western country, and we must look westward from Gangetic India to find it. The fact is, the modern Burmese, jealous of the Talaing people having beyond all doubt received a Buddhist missionary in the time of the great Dhamma Athauka, determined to appropriate a great missionary to themselves. Portions of their country were also, after the fashion of all the Indo-Chinese countries, named from the Buddhist scriptures, one province being called Thoo-na-pa-ran-ta, and this name lent a specious support to the modern fraud or delusion of A-pa-ran-ta signifying Burma. But many other circumstances seem to show that the Mon or Talaing race received Buddhism before the Burmese did. Although

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\* B.C. 308, or twelve years before Alexander crossed the Indus.

the conversion of the people of Suvanna Bhumi was planned by people in Gangetic India, it is not probable that so essentially a sea-hating people had their own ships to convey the missionaries across the Bay of Bengal. Then how did they arrive at their destination?

We may be sure that the mission to Suvanna Bhumi was not planned like a voyage of discovery to an unknown land, but was determined on as a mission to extend religion to a country already known at least on its sea-coast, and the inhabitants of which were considered to offer a fair field for success. It is probable that the people of the Coromandel Coast already had settlements on the Arakanese and Talaing coasts as places of trade, and the Buddhists of Gangetic India would in all probability resort to some of the ports on the east coast of the Continent, and not far from the head of the Bay of Bengal. At that time it is probable that the people of Telingana carried on commerce with Suvanna Bhumi, and the Buddhist missionaries would embark in their ships.

It has already been mentioned that the Talaing people call themselves Mon.\* They are called Talaing by the Burmese. How came the latter to give them this designation? Certainly it does not bear the sound of an Indo-Chinese word. It is probably derived from the word Telinga, and hence it appears that the tribes of the upper Irrawaddy, separated during long ages from the kindred tribes to the south of them, only came to know the Mon after these latter had settlements of Telingas on their coast.† These people no doubt extended their commerce into the interior, and hence the name, easily changed into Talaing, came to be given to the whole population. The same result of a partial knowledge of a leading race may still be seen. Until comparatively of late years, the Burmese mixed up English and all Europeans with the natives of India in the one common appellation of Kulá or western foreigners; and it is only since the war with the British of 1825-26 that they have learnt to distinguish between the more prominent of the nations lying west of them.

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\* The Rev. Dr. Mason, in his work on Burmah, states his opinion that the Mon language is entirely distinct from all the Indo-Chinese languages of the tribes adjoining, and considers that Mon comes nearer to the Kole or Ho language, as depicted by Major Tickell in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society", vols. ix and x, than any other. Mr. J. R. Logan considers "the radical identity of the native pronouns, definitives, and numerals of the Kol with those of the Mon-Anam group as established." Both "groups in their glossarial basis, are branches of one formation, much more akin to Tibeto-Burman than to Dravirian." ("Jour. Ind. Arch.," 1859, p. 66) For the connection between all the languages of the southern division of the Turanian family, see table No. iv, in Max Müller's "Science of Language".

† There is said to have been a Hindu colony at Maulmain, the site of which was called Ramapoorá; vide Crawford.

But the fact still remains, that the Burmese received religion and letters from India. Did they receive these through the Talaings, or from an independent source? It is certain that they had no direct intercourse with the sea probably until the second century of the Christian era. Their alphabet differs in some degree from that of the Talaings, though both are formed on the Deva Nagri model. The circular form of the letters of both indicates the influence of the Tamulic letters. The Burmese appears the more perfect of the two, and has probably been formed at a later period than the other. It does not appear that the Burmese people received their religion and letters through the medium of their cousins the Arakanese, for that people refer to the eastward as their own source of both. The passage of Indian Buddhist missionaries therefore from Gangetic India, through Bengal and Munnipore to Burma, is a probable event, but it took place much later than has been represented. The only direct evidence we yet have on this subject is the discovery of a Buddhist image at the ancient capital Tagoung, bearing an inscription in the Deva Nagri character, as described by Colonel Burney in the 5th volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, page 157. This image was found to have a Sanscrit inscription, being the well-known text of Ye-dham-ma, etc. This is not the only inscription of the same kind that has been found at Tagoung, and the fact appears to indicate that Tagoung received missionaries direct from northern India. The character in which the above text is written on the base of the image is considered by Prinsep as coinciding with the letters of the inscription No. 2 on the Allahabad Buddhist pillar.

We may then conclude that the rude tribes inhabiting the valley of the upper Irrawaddy, who at that time, like the hill tribes of to-day, worshipped only the spirits of the woods, the hills, and the streams, were converted and civilised by Buddhist missionaries from Gangetic India. A monarchy was then established at Tagoung, which gradually extended its authority, and appears from the history to have been overturned by an irruption of (so-called) Tartars and Chinese. The names given to the invaders are Ta-ret and Ta-rook. The latter word is evidently the same as Turk, and is applied at the present day by the Burmese to the Chinese generally. The destruction of the kingdom of Tagoung led to the establishment of a monarchy at Tha-re-khet-te-ya, near the modern Prome. There, according to the history, a descendant of the ancient kings of Tagoung, after a series of wonderful events, succeeded to the throne of the king of the Pyoo tribe, which people was down to that time dominant in the country round Prome. Whatever this event, as told, may really mean, we may consider it as certain, that the tribes dwelling in the country

round Tagoung, where Buddhism and some degree of civilisation had been established under a powerful dynasty, were overwhelmed by a horde of invaders from the north-east, and that many of them found a refuge among their kinsmen the Pyoos.

The present kings of Burma, as has already been stated, claim descent from the ancient Buddhist sovereigns of Kap-pi-la-wot. It may not be out of place here to mention some of the Indian and Sakyan customs preserved by the Burmese royal family. Among these are the marriages of half-brothers with half-sisters, a practice which does not exist in any other family in the kingdom; the ceremonial called a-beit-theik, or pouring out of water on the accession of a new sovereign; preserving unmarried the king's eldest daughter; the figures of a peacock and of a hare, symbolical of the sun and moon, and typifying descent from the solar and lunar races, being painted on the king's throne. For the same reason the figure of a peacock is borne on the royal standard. One of the royal titles is "sun-descent monarch," and a title of honour frequently bestowed even on foreigners is that of "Member of the race of the sun;" while the badge of nobility is the caste-thread of the Brahman and Rajpoot tribes, represented by golden chains worn, slung from the left shoulder across the breast and back to the right hip. These and some other customs are tenaciously adhered to by the royal family of Burmah, who consider themselves as ethnologically and religiously the descendants of the Buddhist kings of Kap-pi-la-wot.

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